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though the other villagers are always asking him why he does not do so. He says he does not want to, because he is too sad over the loss of his brother. If another man wanted to marry her, he would be willing. 587

The widow goes to her husband's brother as soon as the final funerary rites have been held (see Chap. XIV). There is no ceremony on such an occasion. She has (so far as I could learn, but it is difficult to be quite sure) little choice in the matter if her late husband's brother really wants her, but otherwise, should she prefer not to marry again, she will probably not be forced to do so. If she is old, she usually goes to live with one or other of her married children, who will support her. In several instances known to me, the woman chose to return to her own village, as Matēv did when her husband Boar of Saposa died. In her case it was clearly to her advantage to do so, since she holds a prominent position at Kurtatchi as sister of the *tsunaun tʃan*, and mother of his heir. Another Saposa man wanted to marry her, but she wished to come home, and her brother Pinari supported her. He told me that if it had been Boar's brother who wanted her he would not have objected, although he was glad to have her and her children at Kurtatchi. 587 768

If the husband's brother takes the widow, he is bound to look after her and her children, if young, or to make provision for them in some other way. Sometimes an arrangement is made with the woman's relatives, who may, and often do, take one or more of the children and bring them up.

If another man wishes to marry her, he gives an agreed amount of ceremonial currency to the deceased husband's brother, and one string to the woman's relatives: not more than one, as my informants were careful to explain to me, because enough had already changed hands on the occasion of her previous marriage. The children usually go with their mother to her new home, and I have never heard of a man refusing to take them. But sometimes one will go to her relatives by mutual agreement.

The custom of marrying the brother's widow is now falling into disuse owing to the discouragement of polygamy by the missionaries. 587 178

DIVORCE

Divorce is frequent and easy. The woman has as much right to demand it as the man, and neither party can deny it to the other. 586

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seems no doubt that clandestine intercourse has very much increased in frequency of late years, and is no longer regarded as seriously as it used to be. This was stated so emphatically and by so many different people in different localities, that there must be some truth in it. It is safe, I think, to say that the taking of the right to exact the death penalty out of the hands of the native *tsunaun*, consequent upon the rule of the white man, has resulted in a general slackening of observance of the customary laws. Another factor which undoubtedly plays a part in the increase of adultery is the absence of many of the younger men, who go away to work as indentured labourers. They may be absent, under the present regulations, for three years. The young wives usually continue to live with their own relatives, unless the mother-in-law keeps them with her, and in either case, they not infrequently console themselves with the young men of the place. The discouragement of polygamy has also some influence—and will in future have more—on the increase in extra-marital intercourse.

At the present time a very considerable amount of illicit love-making certainly takes place, in fact there were probably few couples, in the villages known to me, of which one or other, if not both, was not, or had not at some time been, engaged in an affair of this kind. Sometimes the meetings are arranged by a third party, either man or, I think more usually, woman, sometimes they are planned directly between the lovers themselves. As one man put it: 'The man says to the woman: "To-morrow I will have you again. You come and wait for me here." The next day the woman's husband says to her: "Come, you and I will go to work." She says: "No, I can't, I am ill." But she is only pretending to be ill. Then her husband goes alone to work, and she goes to join her lover in the bush.' Here is a story giving the other side of the picture, as told by a woman:

Night came, the husband and wife went into their hut. They went to bed, the woman went to sleep, but the man only pretended to sleep. Presently he got up very quietly, he went outside, he went to the other woman, the one he wanted. His wife woke up, she looked at the bed, her man was not lying on it, the bed was empty. Then she cried, she cried about her husband, she cried, and cried, and cried. Then she got up and took up her husband's bed, and carried it outside, then she broke it all to bits. A woman said: 'Why is she breaking the bed?' Another

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would repay fuller investigation from the psychological standpoint than I was able to give it.

The boys wearing the *upi* are not exempt from taking their share in the work of the village. They are encouraged by the older men to share in their daily round. They help in cutting the bush to prepare the ground for planting taro, though they are not allowed in the taro garden while women are working there. They are taken fishing, both ordinary reef-fishing and bonito-fishing. They are taught the technique of canoe-making, house-building, and so on. They join in the ceremonial dances, going round in wheel-formation with the men.

As well as the activities which they share with the adult men, they have also their own. Parties of them were always going off into the bush on their own, either to hunt for small creatures to cook for themselves, or just to wander about. Not wanting to be always with their elders, and debarred from playing with girls of their own age, they have every inducement to develop an organized 'gang' among themselves. There is a word, *tobarupi*, which means 'all the boys' (in a given village). There seems to be a considerable amount of solidarity in their life together, and I do not think that any boy wearing the *upi* was deliberately made to feel an outsider. One of the boys at Kurtatchi was deaf and dumb, but he had been granted the privilege of putting on the *upi*, and was accepted by the others without distinction. They used to laugh at him sometimes, but it was always in friendly fashion, and they never left him out of their pursuits, having evolved a system of signs whereby he could be made to understand what they wanted to convey to him.

In times past, whatever secret chafing may have gone on in the privacy of the *tobar*, the boys seem to have accepted the restrictions under which they laboured with a good grace, and to have felt that they were compensated by the importance conferred upon them. But at the time of my visit signs of resentment at the irksomeness of the taboos might be detected among the older boys. They were supported in their rebellion by the Missions and the employers of labour, and some of the younger men shared their point of view, though every one was careful not to voice his unorthodox views too loudly, in case of punishment either by the *sorar* or by the *tumaun*. One or two men with young sons told me, in private, that they were not going to let their children put on the *upi* when

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882 178 the time came, giving as a reason the unaccountable death of the fathers of some of the *upi* boys not long before. There seems no doubt that the custom will shortly disappear, together with most of the taboos involved, although segregation of the adolescent boys will probably continue in a modified form, as it does in Buka at present.

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764 The coffin was carried to the burial ground by eight men, relatives of the dead man and neighbours, supported on their upraised arms, not on their shoulders. The lid was fastened down with rope at the side of the grave, into which the coffin was lowered with ropes and flexible canes. A few people threw earth into it—they must, I suppose, have seen the missionary do this—the women then went away, and the men finished the filling in, planting cordylines at the head and foot and at the sides, to mark the spot.[1] Then the men, after washing, went to the dead man's house and ate taro and yams. They put a dab of lime on their temples at each side. Anybody may take part in this meal, not only the kinsmen. This concluded the funeral. I was told that in the olden times there would have been a special dance, but this was not done any more.

765 574 On December 19, i.e. about six weeks after the death, Tsirisia's son gave a ceremonial meal. This feast, to which I was specially invited, consisted chiefly of ceremonial pudding and taro; the place of pig was taken by tins of meat which they can buy at a store on a neighbouring island. I was given a place of honour on the front verandah of the 'men's house', where the older men were sitting. The younger men were grouped in front of a house opposite. The women were all inside the house in which the man had died. One of the men said grace and all the people said Amen. Then the dishes (made of spathes of areca-palm) of ceremonial pudding were given out. One was handed to me, a large one was sent in to the women, and another to the younger men congregated opposite. One was taken to an old man who was too feeble to attend. We sat round eating and talking for some time, and then one by one the men drifted off, some taking part of the funeral feast with them for consumption at home.

Regulations for the relatives

765 ● 178 The widow and the mother of the dead man were obliged to stay near the house until the feast just described, i.e. for about six weeks. This was a modification of the old custom, according to which they would have had to spend this time in seclusion inside it. After the feast they were at liberty to resume their normal activities.

On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had her

[1] This was the reason given, but the use of cordylines would appear to be traditional, since these plants are connected with death, as well as having other ritual significance, in the old belief.

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On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had

body smeared with black paint, which was also matted into thick blobs in her hair. The widow showed none of these traditional signs of mourning, contrary to the old custom, which prescribed that the widow must put ashes on her hair and skin and must have her arms and legs rubbed with the skin of a banana which has been dipped in a mixture of red ochre and coco-nut oil. This she had to retain all the time she remained in the house. She may not eat whatever food was last eaten by her husband previous to his death. In the olden days, at the end of the period of mourning she would have become the wife of his brother, but this practice has been given up in deference to the wishes of the missionary, who encourages, while not enforcing, monogamy. It is now becoming customary for a widow not to marry again, but if a man loses his wife he usually takes another.

765 302 178 [587 797]

Fate of the soul

I was told by one of the principal men of the village that in the olden times they thought the spirit (*abiap* in the Petats dialect, equivalent to the Kurtatchi *abin*, not to *urar* which is represented by *amat*) of the dead man came out of the hole where he was buried and came back and stayed in his house, so they destroyed the house and by this means destroyed the *abiap*. The dead man's coco-nut palms and other property were also destroyed. Now the mission has taught them to believe that the *abiap* 'goes up on top' and does not come back.

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It is thought that the *abiap* goes about looking for the person who had poisoned him. When it has found him it tells him: 'You poisoned me, you will die soon.' Soon after the man dies, and the people know it was he who poisoned the other man. This belief appears to be held still, though it is no longer customary, as in the olden days, to put a piece of bamboo through the wall of the house and question it as to who was responsible for the death. It was supposed to move about and thus to indicate the answer. They say it does not work at Petats any more, but assert that it still acts at Lontis.

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Disposal of the dead man's possessions

In the case of Tsirisia, his pigs had been eaten by his relatives during his illness, at his own request. No further destruction of

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